4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Santarém and *Gurupa* in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (*Cawahiwa*). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Strömer, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio de Tropas (ca. 1794). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796.

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajóz in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1885, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajóz region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Strömer, 1932).

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajóz is not definitely known. Kruse (1934) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apiacá* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Río de Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1794 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Necodemus in this area.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Irariá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey.

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them.

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush.

edge it to have been learned from their Tupian neighbors, the Apiaca. In early times, this bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when on a war expedition. Small streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among those Mundurucú of the savannahs.

An additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks allowing the fish to disperse through the forest in search of fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is very difficult throughout the entire rain forest region, even for those people having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who had to fish from the river banks, it was a sheer impossibility. The Indians of the present village of Cabruá complain that they have no canoes and that to fish during the rainy season would involve wading through the igapó, or flooded forest, impractical due to poisonous and constrictor water snakes, covered roots and logs, and the virtual assurance of failure.

Dry season fishing was done by two means. The first of these was to fish from the river bank with bow and arrow. To facilitate this technique, platforms were often built on the limbs of trees overhanging the water. The Mundurucú have great skill in fishing with the bow and arrow, and it is still preferred to the hook and line, which was introduced by the whites and is only used during the rainy season when the fish are scarcer and at a greater depth.

222 Climbing was done with climbing ring, a
[48] loop of vine passed around the feet causing sufficient pressure of the feet against the sides of the trunk to enable the climber to ascend the tree lightly by a series of jumps. For fruits located far out on limbs, hooked sticks were used to drag the limbs down or the climber chopped the limb off. These fruits were not a staple, but they were a valuable adjunct to the diet and a greatly appreciated delicacy.

241 Horticulture

Mundurucú gardening was done by the slash and burn method used all over the tropical areas of the New World. The garden was cleared of trees and underbrush at the end of the rainy season, the felled vegetation was allowed to dry throughout the dry season, and the plot was burned over before the first rains. Burned branches and the smaller trunks were dragged off to one side and the ground was then ready for planting after the first rains, usually in the beginning of September in this region.

Among the plants of New World origin planted by the Mundurucú were several varieties of bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima) and sweet manioc (Manihot aypi), yam (Dioscorea sp.), sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, and pepper. At some time after the advent of the
● [177] whites in the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, potato, and sugarcane were introduced. Cotton, although native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the Mundurucú until the 19th century. The staple garden product and chief starch source of the Mundurucú was bitter manioc.

776 Yurupari.[23] It was a spirit that only attacked at night and appeared to people in the guise of a human. If one came within range, it threw a malignant object "like a stone" at the unwary person and this stone caused illness and possible death. The Yurupari could walk on land, but it often flew through the air making a thin whistling sound in its progress. There were two types of Yurupari. One consisted of fresh water dolphins that traveled at night as Yurupari and the other were the real Yurupari that dwelled in the land of the Yurupari from where they made sorties against humans. Of all the evil spirits that preyed on the Mundurucú, this one was most dangerous.

It was mentioned previously that a person's shadow, as distinguished from his true soul, could take evil form after the death of its owner. This "shadow" turned into the ashik, a very tiny person that could only be seen vaguely and fleetingly by living humans. Only the ashik that were the shadows of girls who died when still small were dangerous, for they stole the souls of infants. Just as the little girl used to reach for the babies pleading, "Come here," so did her ashik take the souls of the children. The mother resorted to magical charms to guard her children against it.

● 177 23. Métraux points out that the Yurupari was originally a Tupinamba supernatural which was adopted by the Jesuits to signify the Christian Satan, and which has been ascribed various qualities in its diffusion throughout the Amazon. (Métraux, 1928, pp. 58-60.) It is possible that its origin, or, at least some of its qualities, among the Mundurucú may be attributed to caboclo influence.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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tion imposed by environmental factors. The result would be a new pattern of single lineage villages which formed parts of nonlocalized clans. During the passage of time and with further population increase, these local lineages became differentiated as subclans and finally as clans having only a phratric affiliation with the parent clan. This budding process and the creation of new clans is reflected by the sharing of trumpet spirit 'companions', surmising that the offspring clans kept the trumpet 'companion' of the parent group.

If the clan-community was the immediate precontact and prematrilocal stage of Mundurucú society—the one observed by Martius—then the men's house was already an established institution among the Mundurucú. It may have been different, however, from the men's house of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, for Martius (1867:115) describes it as being inhabited only by young warriors and newly-wed men. Assuming, as seems logical, that the young warriors referred to were unmarried village men and the bridegrooms were men in the period of bride service, the moiety division of the men's house must already have been in existence, since the clan-community is by definition exogamous. Murdock suggests (1954) that the Mundurucú moiety system must have considerable antiquity due to the existence of moieties in neighboring clanless groups. The practices of cross-cousin and sister's daughter marriage certainly provide the underlying structure of Mundurucú moieties.

It is possible, although there are no supporting data, that population expansion and the resultant fission of clans had resulted in the joining of several splinter groups into multilineal communities in the period previous to contact with the whites. While admitting the possibility, this stage is unnecessary to the present reconstruction, and it will be assumed that the clan-community persisted until matrilocal influences caused its disappearance and its replacement by the type of social structure already described for the Mundurucú of the mid-nineteenth century.

During the early nineteenth century, the Mundurucú made the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality, due probably to economic pressures which increased the importance of maintaining the integrity and continuity of the female, household work-group.[8] This influence was probably brought about by the growing trade with Brazilians in manioc flour and a consequent increase in agricultural production.

The shift to matrilocality was probably accomplished with little serious stress. The groom simply remained in the men's house of his bride's village and the practice of eventually moving to the house of the husband's family disappeared. During the course of the shift in residence patterns, certain fundamental changes in Mundurucú social organization appeared. Granting the accuracy of Martius' statement that the men's house was inhabited only by young warriors and newly-weds, those men who remained permanently matrilocal continued the aboriginal pattern of residence in the men's house during the bride service period and remained there throughout life or at least for the duration of the marriage. Also, since the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality must have taken place over a period of time and did not affect all men simultaneously, the village came to be inhabited by men of both moieties and several clans. The result is

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Munduruca SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Munduruú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secundurí, Abacaxí and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Munduruú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Munduruú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Munduruú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Munduruú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres do Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Munduruú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Munduruú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes.

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Munduruú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Munduruú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestiso colonists. The population of these Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Munduruú reduction of Ucituba had 485 Indians in 1833, 543 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 50 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Munduruú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost."

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river.

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Munduruú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Munduruc had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Munduruc warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Munduruc culture during this period.

The Munduruc villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Munduruc and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Munduruc social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Munduruc village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Munduruc were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

439 Munduruc\u00fa traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild products, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 277] that in 1860 the Munduruc\u00fa of the upper Tapaj\u00f3s "trade in salsa and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1860. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1977, pp. 151-154], rubber was the most important Munduruc\u00fa product.

177 439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Munduruc\u00fa acculturation entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people, aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged, and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare abated, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "loosening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

321 314 Work in the rubber avenues in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their garden sites before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, mid-June to mid-September, [171] out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonkian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 25-26].

439 177 During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Munduruc\u00fa, like the Algonkians and in fact most aborigines, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the individual hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in [224] isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not so crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Munduruc\u00fa. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy [291] the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 55° to 65° F. Clothing, however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently in some Munduruc\u00fa villages. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Munduruc\u00fa, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for finery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian raw cane rum and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader.

A full and adequate description of the growth of Munduruc\u00fa dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise, for reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, fire- [415 323] arms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Munduruc\u00fa barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper toasting pan used to make manioc flour.

Despite the flourishing trade in greguan, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Munduruca economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous.

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Munduruca and the Montagnais are probably to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Munduruca, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to meet local needs, both old and new, inevitably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who furnished these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Munduruca families, like those of the Algonkians, became dependents of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates related that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions to trade with the Munduruca. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajos River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of dispossession and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Munduruca were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Munduruca country proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Munduruca villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the "chief", in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians.

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The post-white warfare, although frequently mercenary in character and auxiliary to Portuguese occupation and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military prop of the Munduruca was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Increased devotion of the Munduruca to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare, for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1914 a Franciscan mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Munduruca warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective.

At the end of the second stage of Munduruca acculturation, only bonds of kinship and economic collectivity in producing food for the group held Munduruca society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The chieftaincy had been undermined, warfare had ended, and reliance upon the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Munduruca who had difficulties with their co-residents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy.

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Munduruca villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas fringing the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between its village and its house in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior savannah and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large

portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rubber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the inland villages, the loci of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues, and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Western Montagnais, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the Cururu River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucú until the 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Cururu River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organization, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy, it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the communal communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the co-resident family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family seiners from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the knives, lines, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the atomistic division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

Political authority on the Cururu River was almost nonexistent. The migrants began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the private and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururu River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the Cururu River still have to remain away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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Mu 178 621 Mu [578]

to the disorganization of Cururu River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the savannahs caused an oversupply of men on the Cururu River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber areaues or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucu. Over one-third of the Cururu River population make their rainy season homes at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

IV. Comparative Summary

Mu ● Mo 177 ● 171 437 452

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical continua. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to each. First, both became involved in a mercantile, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while assuming new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The debtor-producer in selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by wandering traders. Second, the growing nature of dependency upon the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon become necessities--a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while crude latex and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of furbearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

Mu 171 177 439 452 [434] Mu Mo [433]

Mo Mu 171 177 439 452

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucu and Montagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Mundurucu chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Montagnais chief. Montagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

[text continues on p. 349]

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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Montagnais NH6

Mo
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171
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Tabular Comparison

Mundurucú	Montagnais
1. Pre-rubber	1. Pre-fur
Village consists of men's house, matrilocal extended family households; population divided into patrilineal clans and moieties. Village males form collective hunting and garden-clearing group. Household females form the horticultural unit. Intensive warfare for headhunting and as mercenaries allied to whites; partial dispersal of villagers in dry season for fishing and war. Chief the war leader and representative of village in trade of manioc flour.	Nomadic composite band hunts large migratory game animals. Frequent band breakup during winter scarcity. Amalgamation of several winter groups for summer hunting and fishfishing. Chieftainship weak and shifting--leader of winter group; no summer band chief. Residence bilocal, frequent shifts of winter group membership.
2. Marginal involvement	2. Marginal involvement
Chief continues as mediator with trader, but is now often trader-appointed--trader gains influence. Dry season population dispersal for rubber production rather than fishing and war--war continues, but lessened in importance. Basic pre-rubber economy and settlement pattern unchanged. Continuing displacement of aboriginal crafts.	Trade by family heads--leaders do not trade for followers. Trapping secondary to subsistence hunting--subsistence still gotten traditionally, basic social patterns persist. No trapping territory. Linkage to trading posts.
3. Transitional	3. Transitional
Further displacement of native crafts, increased need of trade goods, increased dependence on trader. Chieftainship undermined due to new type chiefs who now represent the trader. Agricultural cycle and village life inhibit larger rubber production. Trend toward individual trade.	Further displacement of native crafts, increased need of trade goods, increased dependence on trader. Increased fur production interferes with subsistence hunting. Individual trade conflicts with group solidarity.
4. Convergence and culmination	4. Convergence and culmination
A. Intermediate Move to new villages in rubber regions. Chief now intermediary with Indian agent and missionaries. Individual trade, individualized subsistence economy--end of men's house and traditional village--	Fur trapping now predominant; winter provisions purchased Winter groups not necessary with end of collective hunt--family or individual hunting gives greater efficiency, allows conservation. Shift of economic interdependencies from group to trader.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

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Mundurucú (cont.)	Montagnais (cont.)
village held together only by weakening kin ties and sociability. Centripetal factors (e.g., sorcery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in B, below.	Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries. Nuclear family basic unit at all times of year.
B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4A) Leadership no longer integrative. Individual trade undercuts kin obligations. Conflict with agricultural cycle resolved by moving to rubber avenues--family now in isolation except for trade bonds.	Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.

Mo Mu 171 177 [439 622]

Mundurucú during the period immediately after the Mundurucú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own.

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The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Mundurucú than among the Montagnais, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated Indians east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Mundurucu kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Montagnais. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Mundurucu families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Mundurucú still produce all their own subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, technique, and organization.

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The Brazilian rubber tapper--the white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and enmeshed in the mercantile economy--usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Mundurucu who bought most of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become caboclos, or neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen.

Mo Mu 171 177 543

The acculturative factors operated in two somewhat different ways among both the Mundurucu and Montagnais. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total groups they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate.

Mo Mu 177 621 622

Among the Mundurucú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Mundurucu culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Mundurucu were not much more closely integrated than the Montagnais.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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The culmination of the long acculturative processes shows a high degree of structural parallelism. Both Mundurucú and Montagnais populations are divided into loosely integrated and dispersed communities centering about particular trading posts with which the individual families have ties. The Indians still recreate, associate, and intermarry with one another, but the nuclear family is now the stable socio-economic unit. It is the highest level of integration found among the native population itself, but it is linked to the nation through the intermediary of a regional economy. The integration of the family with the national level is highly specialized and limited. These families do not yet share a substantial part of the common denominator of the national culture or even of the regional sub-cultures of their non-Indian neighbors.

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There is a final phase, which, though occurring at different dates in the different localities, is characterized by assimilation of the Indians as a local sub-culture of the national sociocultural system and virtual loss of identity as Indians. At this point, the acculturational processes and results diverge, since the Indians participate to a much greater extent in the national culture. So long as the families maintain their marginal relation with the national society, they are quite unlike the basic populations of the nations in which they lived and much more like one another. When, however, they learn the national language, intermarry extensively with non-Indians, and acquire many of the non-Indian values and behavior patterns, they have to be classed with the special regional sub-cultures that have developed in portions of these nations.

ODD

It can be predicted that the drastic shift in mode and level of integration will do much to hasten the loss of cultural distinctiveness. Fortes has cogently expressed the relationship between social structure and formal culture content in such a situation:

> "I would suggest that a culture is a unity insofar as it is tied to a bounded social structure. In this sense I would agree that the social structure is the foundation of the whole social life of any continuing society.....The social structure of a group does not exist without the customary norms and activities which work through it. We might safely conclude that where structure persists there must be some persistence of corresponding custom, and where custom survives there must be some structural basis for this" [Fortes 1953, pp. 22-23].

V. Further Comparisons

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We can delimit and refine the Mundurucú-Algonkian parallel by the cross-cultural examination of structural changes caused by acculturation in other areas. We will not seek further parallels, however, but will discuss cultures in which divergence appears manifest. One instance of such apparent divergence is the Northwest Coast, where the fur trade at first strengthened or intensified rather than weakened the aboriginal social structure. The florescence of the potlatch and class system on the Northwest Coast as a result of new wealth in trade goods is a thesis which has been ably expounded by a number of students [cf. Barnett 1938; Drucker 1939; Collins 1950; Codere 1950]. It would be very misleading, however, to consider any trade in furs as the crucial factor. What really matters is individual trapping of fur-bearing animals. The sea otter was the principal fur bartered by most Northwest Coast tribes, and collection involved neither individual effort nor delimited territories. The amount of land trapping was probably fairly limited and in any event did not offset the cultural effects of the great salmon wealth which created surpluses rarely if ever paralleled by hunting, gathering, and fishing people.

The trapping activities of the Skagit of Puget Sound were nearly paralleled those of the Northeastern Algonkians, according to Collins description [1950, p. 338]:

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

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"The [trading] posts played an important part in altering the economy of the Indians. First, they encouraged a shift in their hunting habits. The skins in which the traders were most interested were beaver and land otter. These animals had small value in the aboriginal economy, since they were less desirable for food than deer or elk, for example. At the traders' behest, however, hunters pursued these animals eagerly. Another economic shift took place when the hunters, instead of killing game for meat, began to exchange skins for food."

The result of this trade was, however, quite different from its effects in Eastern Canada.

"The effects of these changes upon Skagit social organization were pronounced. Distinctions in social rank began to be more marked--a shift made possible since, though social mobility had always been within the grasp of any person of good descent who could acquire the distinction of wealth, new sources of wealth were now available" [Ibid., pp. 337-338].

The new wealth acquired by the Skagit was funnelled into the class structure and ultimately the potlatch. The difference, then, between the processes of change which occurred among Northwest Coast and Northeastern Canadian groups is that the former integrated the new wealth into a pre-existent class structure created and perpetuated by a fishing economy. Among the latter, since there were no cultural means or goals promoting the concentration of surplus wealth in the hands of a select few, the benefits rebounded to all persons. The same was true of Munduruçú society which also was unstratified. The differences between the Skagit on one hand as opposed to the Munduruçú and Montagnais on the other are attributable to the stratification of society among the former, which in turn is partially explainable by the greater aboriginal resources of the Skagit. In effect, this constitutes a difference of level of socio-cultural integration.

The impact of trapping upon a pre-existing social structure can be even better appraised among the Carrier of the interior of British Columbia, where the wealth in salmon was far less than on the coast. The fur trade among the Blackwater River Carrier involved intimate interaction with Northwest Coast groups, especially the Bella Coola. Goldman summarizes the effects of this contact upon the simple, bilateral Carrier hunting bands [1941, pp. 416-417]:

"Undoubtedly the Bella Coola, like all Northwest Coast tribes, became relatively wealthy as a result of this trade. And in Bella Coola where wealth was the decisive factor in building rank, the fur trade must have been particularly welcome. And the lowly interior Carrier who hunted for furs in order to trade with the Bella Coola, who traded them to the whites, became an important part of the scheme of elevating one's rank. Although a Bella Coola did not gain valuable prerogatives from a Carrier son-in-law, if he could get a monopoly upon his furs he could make enough wealth to purchase new prerogatives. And as the Bella Coola benefited by this trade, so did the Alkatcho Carrier. The latter took up products obtained on the coast and traded them to the Carrier villages eastward on the Blackwater River drainage. As they obtained guns and steel traps, economic productivity spurted so that they were able to build up the necessary property surpluses for potlatching. Potlatching obligations in turn stimulated economic activity, and the degree to which they were able to potlatch made possible the full integration of crests as honorific prerogatives.

Given our previous hypotheses, developments more or less parallel to those in Eastern Canada might be expected. But these Carrier did not trade with European traders; they dealt instead with stratified Northwest Coast tribes in the context of an economic system, the rationale of which was the validation of rank by potlatch. As the following example of the Stuart Lake Carrier suggests,

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direct trade with the whites and the end of potlatching result ultimately in the family trapping territory system.

The effect of the fur trade among the Carrier of Stuart Lake to the north of the Blackwater River ran a similar course but culminated in family trapping territories, according to Steward's research. In pre-white times, the wealth of salmon fisheries, although far less than those of the coastal tribes, had provided some surplus, while contacts with the Tsimshian of the Skeena River had introduced a pattern for channeling this surplus to nobles who controlled the fishing rights of large territories in the name of matrilineal moieties. This wealth circulated through small-scale potlatches. The fur trade, carried on directly with the whites more than through coastal contacts, created a new source of wealth and intensified the native pattern. Although furs were trapped by individual moiety members, a noble had rights to certain percentage of the furs taken in his moiety's territory.

In the course of about 50 years, however, several processes combined to bring about individual trapping territories as among the Indians of eastern Canada. Most importantly, the new wealth in trade goods brought hardward that was of value to individuals. Pressures mounted to force the nobles to divide the trapping territories among their own children rather than to pass them on intact to their sister's sons, who had traditionally inherited their titles and rights. This process was aided by the activities of the Catholic missionary-ethnologist Father Morice, who effectively undermined the native religious sanctions of the class of nobles, and by the government, which banned potlatching. The older pattern survives only in isolated localities, where it is carried on clandestinely. At Fort St. James on Stuart Lake, where there is located a Hudsons' Bay Trading Post and some few hundred whites and Indians, the processes have reached a culmination almost identical to that of the Montagnais.

> "Present-day Carrier society at Stuart Lake consists of individual families that have exclusive rights to certain trap-lines that are registered with and protected by the Provincial Government. The family is the kinship and economic unit" [Steward 1941, pp. 500-501].

It seems likely that the Blackwater River Carrier have not yet reached the final stage of acculturation. The same may be true of the Skagit. The critical consideration is whether wealth in salmon among these tribes was so great that it offset the importance of trapping. This was not the case at Stuart Lake. On the lower Skeena River, salmon are so important that canneries have been built, and the Tsimshian and Tlingit have given up fur trapping to become commercial fishermen and cannery laborers.

Certain Plains Indians in North America also engaged in the fur trade but developed in distinctive ways. This is another illustration of the need to examine specific features in the taking of furs. There is a significant ecological difference between the collection of fur on the Great Plains and in the coniferous forests of Canada that lies essentially in the difference between hunting and trapping. It is incomplete and misleading therefore to make comparisons simply on the basis of "fur trading". In the Great Plains, buffalo hides were the chief item traded, whereas in eastern Canada, small, non-gregarious and non-migratory animals were trapped. The trade on the Plains resulted in an emphasis upon the buffalo hunt beyond the needs of subsistence and served to strengthen the collective and cooperative techniques traditionally used in the pursuit of migratory herds. Moreover, band cohesion in the Plains was enhanced by acquisition of the horse and gun and by intensification of warfare, the latter carried on in part to obtain horses.

It is possible that a non-stratified society which acquires surplus wealth may develop a class structure, but this involves special conditions not ordinarily

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found among collectors of wild products. Some of the North American Plains Indians showed an incipient development of a class society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but the tribes were decimated by epidemics and overwhelmed by the advancing frontier when intensified wealth and significant prestige differences had begun to emerge. A parallel between the Plains and the Mundurucu can be found in the increased authority of chiefs owing to their functions as intermediaries between the traders and the Indians. Jablow notes such a florescence of political controls among the Cheyenne [1951, p. 86], and Lewis specifically states of Blackfoot trade [1942, p. 42]:

> "In periods of monopoly [of the Indian trade by one company] the fur trade has a positive effect, that is, it increased the prestige and authority of the chiefs. In periods of competition it has a disruptive effect, that is, it weakened the power of the chiefs."

The Plains band chief traded a commodity which was obtained by collective effort. The Mundurucú chief served as middleman in the pre-rubber period when trade in manioc flour, which was also communally produced, was of primary importance. But he eventually lost his position when individually produced rubber became predominant. The Tenetehara Indians of northeastern Brazil have been in contact with civilization longer than the Mundurucú, but, according to Wegley and Galvao, the village chiefs and extended family heads still have a central role in the trading of collectively produced manioc flour and palm oils [1949, pp. 26-30]. It seems apparent that, lacking some other basis for political authority, it is difficult for leaders to maintain control over trade in individually-produced goods.

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Our formulations, in effect, state that when certain acculturative factors, defined functionally rather than formally, are present, the core of a culture will change in expectable and predictable ways. These formulations assume the constancy of certain other preconditions, which, though well worth investigation of themselves, can be regarded as given factors for methodological purposes.

This can best be exemplified in our present cases by reference to the basic, though incompletely explained, acculturative factor common not only to the Mundurucu and Naskapi but to most primitive peoples throughout the world. This factor can be stated simply as follows: When goods manufactured by the industrialized nations with modern techniques become available through trade to aboriginal populations, the native people increasingly give up their home crafts in order to devote their efforts to producing specialized cash crops or other trade items in order to obtain more of the industrially made articles. The consequences of this simple though world-wide factor are enormous, even though they vary in local manifestation. The phenomenon is of such a high order of regularity that special explanations must be sought for the few departures from it.

The main hypothesis arising from the present study is that: When the people of an unstratified native society barter wild products found in extensive distribution and obtained through individual effort, the structure of the native culture will be destroyed, and the final culmination will be a culture type characterized by individual families having delimited rights to marketable resources and linked to the larger nation through trading centers. Trappers, trappers, and no doubt other collectors come under this general statement.

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The Relations Between the Mundurucu and the Tupi

Kurt Nimuendajú

197 On the basis of the comprehensive study of the language of the Mundurucu, one of the Indian tribes of Brazil, undertaken by the Rev. Father Albert Kruse, the learned Franciscan missionary and indefatigable explorer of Brazil, Mr. K. Nimuendajú [976] traced the relationship between the Mundurucu and Tupi. He established their kinship, which manifests itself "in vocabulary as well as in grammar. With regard to vocabulary, it is striking that precisely the most important nouns from the categories 'parts of the body' and 'natural phenomena' are without exception related to Tupi. In the field of grammar the close relationship of the pronouns is of great importance. [177] These similarities cannot be possibly explained by the influence of the Apiakás and Parintingtings, quite apart from the fact that while such an influence might conceivably have been exerted on the Tapajós-Mundurucus and Madeira-Mundurucus, it must be ruled out entirely for the Xingú-Mundurucus, who do not even know the names of these tribes. I, therefore, classify the Mundurucu language with the Tupi family, without saying, however, that the Mundurucus are [174] Tupis ... What little information I have at my disposal makes me doubt that the Mundurucus were originally Tupi.." (Lose Blätter vom Cururú, 1938, p. 80)

181 non-aggression to an extent compa-
577 rable to the Zuni Indians of Arizona; in this light their culture is Apollonian.

121 The apparent disparity between these two concepts of desirable conduct towards one's fellow man points to a weakness in the configurational approach of Benedict and others. According to their interpretation, ethics are a part of a central theme which pervades all aspects of any one culture and endows it with a total and unique pattern. If major ethical themes are analyzed, on the other hand, as being an integrated and integrative part of the social structure, moral values can be related in a functional and pluralistic way to the total culture. Such a dual system of ethics, when viewed functionally, does not have to show ideational consistency, for its rationality lies in the structure of the society and, ultimately, of the culture.

186 The major unifying theme of the Mundurucú view of humanity lies in the division which they make, explicitly and verbally, between those who are Mundurucú and those who are not. Only the former are called "people," while the latter are referred to categorically as "outlanders." In times
[609] past, all "outlanders" were considered to be enemies and proper objects of attack.

This is not a racial or genetic concept; the name "outlander" is frequently applied today to many fellow
[177] tribesmen who have adopted white men's ways to such an extent that they no longer operate within the closed circle of Mundurucú society. Further-

more, children were captured from other tribes and raised as Mundurucú without prejudice. To adult "outlanders" of either sex, however, the Mundurucú gave no quarter; the enemy was summarily dispatched and the head severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Mundurucú derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

The establishment of peaceful and symbiotic relations with the whites added a further dimension to the values connected with warfare, which the Mundurucú now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Mundurucú a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they construed their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The means used to attain the new ends were traditional. Enemy villages were

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PREFACE

THIS MONOGRAPH is based primarily upon data gathered in the course of research among the Mundurucú Indians of the state of Pará, Brazil, in 1952 and 1953. The field work, in which my wife Yolanda and I collaborated, was conducted with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded by the Trustees of Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council. At the time of the investigation, we were graduate students in the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, and our work was under the guidance of Professors Julian H. Steward and Charles Wagley.

The focus of the research was upon those changes in economic and social structure consequent upon the involvement of the Mundurucú in the rubber-extraction industry, but we set as a further goal the collection of as much ethnographic data as was possible during the year available. This aim was partly motivated by a desire to add to the information about South American Indian groups, but it was also felt that completely concentrated and problem-oriented research could be done only in cultures upon which a good background of reliable information was already available.

Actually, the Mundurucú are probably better known than most South American Indians, except for those few groups which have been the subject of prolonged and intensive study. This speaks less for the wealth of published data than for the poverty of our knowledge of the area. A certain amount of data is available from the early nineteenth-century explorations of Spix and Martius, and a fine source on Mundurucú culture in the latter part of the century is available in the report of the Brazilian engineer, Antonio M. G. Tocantins. More limited and fragmentary data are available in the work of Manoel Ayres de Casal, Henry Walter Bates, William C. Farabee, João Barbosa Rodrigues, Henri Coudreau, José Monteiro Noronha, and Ricardo de Almeida Serra. Some excellent material has been published by the Franciscan missionaries to the Mundurucú, especially Fathers Albert Kruse and C. Strömer. Unfortunately, I have not had access to the information published by these priests and their colleagues in the *Provinzeitschrift der Franziskaner in Nordbrasilien*. The information available in most of the above sources is based upon limited residence among the Indians, and some contain most questionable data. None was written in the light of modern anthropological problems and theories or with the aid of contemporary field techniques.

Accordingly, my wife and I proceeded to gather as wide a range of data as was possible within the limits imposed by the necessity to accumulate material pertinent to our main interests. The present work represents one aspect of this research. The reader will see that a great deal of the native religion has been lost as a result of contact with Brazilian society, and certain items reported were not actually witnessed by me. It was continually necessary to resort to the memories of older Mundurucú, but we made every attempt to insure the reliability of our facts by cross-checking our data with several informants. I stated in the text which activities and beliefs are extinct and which are still practiced. The final

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776 825 These *Yurupari* make a thin, whistling noise as they travel through the air. Though the porpoise *Yurupari* are handsome, shamans report the others to be ugly beyond description. A further distinction between the porpoise and the other *Yurupari* is that the latter have no fixed abodes, whereas the porpoises have cities at the bottom of deep quiet stretches of the Tapajós River.

776 753 All types of *Yurupari* travel only at night. They frequently lurk on the peripheries of villages, and, consequently, few Mundurucú venture beyond the circle of houses after dark. The weapon of the *Yurupari* is a magical stone that it throws at anyone who comes within range. The stone is believed to enter the victim and invariably to cause fever, pains in the stomach and sides, and vomiting. The stones vary in size; the larger ones are thought to be the more powerful. Also, the amount of damage done by the stone depends on the distance from which it is thrown. If the *Yurupari* is within fifteen feet, death is almost instantaneous. At longer ranges, only temporary illness may result.

776 755 There are no means by which attacks of the *Yurupari* can be prevented, but Mundurucú shamans have techniques for extracting the harmful stones. Extreme care must be taken in this treatment, for the stone maintains its malignancy even after being extracted. Only smaller stones can be touched with the bare hands, and even these must be treated gingerly. The stone, however, is afraid of the bow, and the bow is frequently used to drive the stone into a fire, where it is destroyed.

776 797 It was extremely difficult to obtain full information about the *Yurupari* while in the field because the Mundurucú informants hesitated even to speak of this spirit. To mention it was believed dangerous, and it was also considered to be such a frightful subject that any prolonged discussion of it was in poor taste. This attitude caused a curious situation among the missionized Mundurucú. The priests translated the Devil as *Yurupari*, and their sermons to the Indians were replete with references to the greatly feared demon and threats that sinfulness would be punished by condemnation to the "fire of the *Yurupari*." They were evidently ignorant of the full range of *Yurupari* beliefs shared by the Mundurucú and were accordingly unaware of the acute discomfort and revulsion aroused in their listeners.

776 825 One of the commonest beliefs of *Yurupari* in the Amazon Basin is that of the fresh-water porpoise transformed at night into a forest demon. Among the Brazilian *caboclos*, or backwoodsmen, the porpoise is believed to ensnare victims through its great sexual attraction and potency. Wagley reports that in the town of Ita the porpoise is thought to emit the high whistling sound characteristic of the Mundurucú *Yurupari*, although there is no indication that the porpoise is identified with the spirit.* Brazilian neighbors of the Mundurucú also believe in

776 171 the magical power of the porpoise, and it is quite possible that the Indian concept of the porpoise type *Yurupari* was borrowed from the civilized population. If

● 171 this is true, we are presented with the seeming paradox whereby aboriginal culture elements have been spread by people having a basically European culture. This

* Wagley, 1952, p. 248.

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phenomenon is not at all unusual in South America; Wagley and Galvão report the Tenetehara belief in the demon, Zurupari, to have been borrowed by the Indians from the local Brazilian population.[1] Similarly, the Tupinambá culture hero, Tupan, became a mythological figure in many Brazilian tribes through the active agency of the Jesuits.

Another instance of this type of diffusion and syncretism may exist in the Mundurucú belief that the *Yurupari* take the souls of their victims in order to recruit their own ranks. This may well be an aboriginal idea, but it corresponds suspiciously to the classical missionary teaching that the souls of sinners are taken by the *Yurupari*, or Devil.[2] The absence of any concept of sin in the Mundurucú belief is not surprising, for missionaries have labored for generations without noticeable results, to inculcate the idea of sin and punishment among them.

The *Yurupari* attack all people regardless of age or sex, but a class of spirits known as *aĩk* is dangerous only to infants. There are hordes of *aĩk* wandering over the earth, for the shadows of all people turn into this spirit upon death. Only the transformed shadows of little girls are dangerous to infants, however. The Mundurucú believe that these *aĩk*, like all little girls, want to take the children for themselves, and they rob the child of its life to do so.

Like the *Yurupari*, the *aĩk* kills its victims by throwing a magical stone into them. The *aĩk* is clearly visible to the shaman as a little person no more than a foot high; its skin is either black or white, and it is always very beautiful. To ordinary people unendowed with shamanistic powers, the *aĩk* is visible only as a fleeting shadow. It is not at all remarkable, therefore, that anxious Mundurucú mothers often see *aĩk* on the paths between the villages and the bathing places. These paths are considered to be especially dangerous, but the *aĩk* also attacks in the village on days when most of the people are abroad, and only one or two women or girls remain in the village to tend the infants.

As a rule, the Mundurucú believe that safety from all supernaturals can be gained by numbers; the various malevolent beings are always especially dangerous outside the village and to the lone person. This idea functions to provide supernatural support for sociability and coöperation, and few Mundurucú hunt, fish, or garden alone, nor does any woman willingly go to bathe or draw water by herself. To be sure, there are other, more concrete and persuasive reasons for Mundurucú gregariousness, but supernatural concepts rationalize and support this aspect of the social structure.

The shaman must be called to cure an attack by the *aĩk*, but there are also means by which such attacks can be prevented. Children are made immune by frequent baths in a solution of water and the crushed leaves of an unidentified shrub, and a piece of ginger root is almost always hung on the child's *tipoia*, or carrying sling, as protection against the *aĩk*. Also, mothers bite off and spit out pieces of the ginger root as they walk along the paths between the villages and the bathing places in the belief that this will avert molestation by the spirit.

[1] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 202.

[2] It is equally possible that this represents a modification of an aboriginal concept of the Yurupari. Métraux (1928, p. 58) notes the antiquity of this belief among Tupian groups, and the Mundurucú might well have shared this element.

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totally different structures, and the Mundurucú have changed the form and meaning of religious elements in such a way that they function within the structure of Mundurucú culture.

Although the Christian concept of the soul has main reference to the hereafter, the Mundurucú beliefs in the soul are more closely concerned with the here and now. The souls of people afflicted with a certain illness can wander abroad and constitute a threat to society. Also, the soul is highly vulnerable to theft by the game animals. And finally, the soul can be used as a means of obtaining omens and knowledge.

The souls of the dead remain permanently in the afterworld and are not thought to intervene thereafter in the affairs of the living except in one highly limited way. They are not believed to return to the world as ghosts nor are they regarded as a source of danger. But the soul of a living person may turn into an *wanfouk̃uakat*, or wandering soul, during the course of a malady characterized by weakness, fever, and yellow skin. The person so afflicted is generally unaware of the journeys of his soul, but some are said to become *wanfouk̃uakat* willingly and to remember the deeds of their wandering souls. The soul always travels at night and at these times attacks sleeping people. On occasion, it travels with other wandering souls and, thus strengthened and emboldened, may strike at persons who are awake and walking about.

The wandering soul is believed to be especially dangerous, for defense against it consists of purely temporary measures and there is no cure for sick people whose souls wander. The *wanfouk̃uakat* can be driven away by the shaman, who spears it with a five-inch-long lance, but it always returns to the attack. It attacks children and robs their souls, and visits adults as a vampire that sucks the blood from its victims. Only the shaman can see wandering souls, although anybody can hear their footsteps at night. However, the soul travels about on a cord that stretches like a piece of rubber, and its footprints are never visible the next day.

After the sick person dies, the soul goes to an afterworld, and its nocturnal travels cease. People so afflicted are not killed, in spite of the danger to the community. The soul of a young woman of the village of Cabruá was known to wander at night, but no action was taken against her. The residents of the village were extremely nervous during the nights of her illness, and most hesitated even to speak of it.

The vampire aspect of the wandering soul is reminiscent of European folklore, and there exists here also the possibility that the Mundurucú borrowed the belief from their Brazilian neighbors. One Brazilian informant specifically stated that the people of the Tapajós River believed that the souls of some sick people journey at night as vampires, although they do not travel on magical elastic cords. Borrowing in this instance appears obvious, although it is not certain just who borrowed from whom. It is possible in all these examples that the transmission of the themes is extremely complex. The Mundurucú may well have received this concept from the whites but through the intermediary of another Indian tribe

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774 177 rather than directly from their immediate Brazilian neighbors. In our present state of knowledge of the ethnology of the Amazon region, reliable reconstructions of such diffusion are most difficult.

774 755 784 In the preceding discussion of spirit mothers of game animals, it was mentioned that the *putcha ñi* avenges itself upon humans by stealing their souls. This is one of the gravest afflictions that may befall a Munduruci, and only the performance of a ceremony is sufficient to regain the soul of a stricken person; ordinary shamanistic curing techniques are inadequate. Men can lose their souls to the game through a variety of offenses. The insults to the game already described are the most common means of occasioning the anger of the spirit mothers. One can also lose his soul if he sits too close to a fire over which the head of a game animal is roasting, and he is struck by the optic fluid from an exploding eye. Another means of losing one's soul is to have adulterous relations with the wife of a member of the *Bia ñi* (Mothers of the Tapir) society, which is responsible for impersonating the tapir during certain ceremonies. In these cases, the tapir robs the soul of the offending male. The members of the *Bia ñi* society, themselves, are in danger of losing their souls during those ceremonies in which they perform. They must [515] be especially careful not to bathe in the streams during rituals, as the *kase ñi*, or mother of the prego monkey, will surely steal their souls. To prevent this they bathe in the house from gourds.

Women may also lose their souls through offenses against the game, but since women do not hunt, this rarely occurs. However, a woman who bathes during her first menses or shortly after the birth of a child may have her soul taken by the jararaca snake. Either the large or small species of this reptile family robs the soul, depending on whether the woman is on land or in the water at that time. The jararaca turns the soul over to the tapir, and it begins the long journey described below.

774 The journey of the stolen soul is believed by the Munduruci to be a terrifying and danger-fraught experience. Although the *putcha ñi* is often spoken of as stealing the soul, the actual theft appears to be the work of the tapir and, less commonly, of other animals and spirit mothers of species. After the tapir steals the soul, it runs with it through thick underbrush and swims across rivers. The beast then gives the soul to the peccary, which travels for some time with it and then passes it on to a lesser game animal. The soul is finally transferred to the smallest species of monkey which, in turn, gives it to the largest variety of fish. It passes on to smaller fish until it finally reaches the smallest species. At this point the journey ends, and the afflicted person dies.

The person whose soul has been robbed lies in a semicoma and dreams of the trials to which his soul is exposed. The rigors of the trip are such that the person grows steadily weaker, and death may occur at almost any time during the travels of the stolen soul. If the animal with which it is traveling dies, the sick person dies also. Two parts of the journey are especially dangerous. At one point the soul passes within a stone's throw of the house of a prego monkey, which throws stones at it. If the soul is struck by only a drop of the stones, its owner dies. In another

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dabbed a bit of rotten Brazil nut on the mouth of each one. It is because of the animals who made the vaginas that they are of different shapes and sizes today, and it is because of the armadillo that the female organ smells as it does.

6. HOW KARUSAKAIBÓ MADE THE SKY AND FINALLY AVENGED HIMSELF AGAINST Dailrí

Now Karusakaibé resumed his plans to rid himself of the armadillo-trickster, Dailrí. One day he invited Dailrí to accompany him to bathe. On the way, Karusakaibé told him, "Carry a flat stone." The armadillo picked up a flat stone and carried it in his hands. "No," said Karusakaibé, "carry it on your head." As soon as Dailrí had placed the flat stone on his head, Karusakaibé caused the stone to grow in diameter. It grew and grew, and, in order to support it, Dailrí braced his hands beneath it. As it grew larger Dailrí cried out, "It is heavy." When the armadillo could no longer support it, Karusakaibé caused both him and the stone to rise high into the air. This great, flat stone is now the sky.

Karusakaibé then made roots grow from Dailrí's nose and implant themselves in the earth; the armadillo thus became transformed into the apoi, a tall tree of the jungle. It is this tree which to this day supports the sky, although nobody knows where it is.

THE BIBLE: MUNDURUCÚ VERSION

The following six tales are among the most delightful collected; they are also of great value for an understanding of the processes of integration and creativity in myth-making. The first three syncretize the story of Adam and Eve with Munduruú themes, and the last three represent a similar integration of New Testament themes.

Karusakaibé and Tupan are interchangeable in these stories, and the same narrator frequently used both names to designate the same person. The first tale of the cycle, "The Creation of Adjun and Eva," has become a continuation of the account entitled "Karusakaibé Makes More Women." An interesting reversal of Biblical events occurs in that Adjun, or Adam, is made from Eve's rib.

The second story, "The Origin of Work," appears to be an aboriginal myth integrated with that part of the Biblical punishment for original sin that commands that man shall live by the sweat of his brow. Koch-Grünberg recorded a similar story of tools that worked by themselves among the Taulipang;[4] and Nimuendajú found the same theme in an Eastern Timbira tale.[5] Neither story betrays European influence, nor does that collected by Wagley and Galvão among the Tenetehara.[6] The aboriginality of the theme in eastern South America is further corroborated by Métraux's reference to the belief in a land where there is no work as an essential part of the ancient Tupian myth of the "terre-sans-mal."[7] Granted that the legend is aboriginal to the Munduruú also, they have then adopted and embellished that part of the Book of Genesis which had meaning

[4] Koch-Grünberg, 1917, pp. 135-137.
[5] Nimuendajú, 1946, p. 266.
[6] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 180.
[7] Métraux, 1928, pp. 316-318.

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for them. By the same principle, Eve's consumption of the forbidden fruit becomes a minor theme in the third story, and the main activity of the devil-serpent is to teach Adam and Eve the art of sexual intercourse.

The three New Testament stories are all interpretations of Christ's death and ascent to Heaven. In the last two versions, Karumahibi, who in this case is equated with God the Son and not God the Father as in the Genesis tales, is accused of sorcery and is slain by his fellows. Like Christ, he arises from the dead and has further adventures. In two of these stories Karumahibi-Tupan-Christ endows the white people with their technological superiority. The Munduruká still look upon their own backwardness as the result of Karumahibi's anger.

The last story of the cycle has integrated more European content than have the others. Karumahibi is specifically mentioned as visiting America and Germany, the respective native lands of the author and the missionaries. He twice he made salt water and ice, both of which are but dimly understood by the Munduruká. One episode substitutes domestic fowl for the fishes and loaves of the sermon on the Mount, but the resulting creation was not used to feed the multitude.

7. THE CREATION OF ADJUN AND EVA

*539 When Karumahibi, or Tupan as he is known by the priests, made the women out of clay, he also made a little house in which he locked the unfinished clay dolls. When he opened the house again, the dolls had all turned into adolescent girls.

There were already men at that time, and one of these men discovered the girls and seduced one. Karumahibi asked who had had coitus with the girl, and when he found out, he made the man marry her. As the girls grew to maturity, the coitus here gave one to each man. Eventually, all the men had wives, and only a girl named Eva was left without a mate. Karumahibi decided to make a man for her. He took one of her ribs while she was asleep, turned it into a man, and placed him beside her. In the morning she awoke to find Adjun.

Karumahibi told Adjun that Eva was his woman and was given to him to help him. He left a quantity of fruit with them, but instructed them not to eat any.

8. ORIGIN OF WORK

Karumahibi sent Adjun to the forest to make a garden. Adjun did not, however, have to do any physical labor, for Karumahibi gave him machetes that worked by themselves and did not require a human arm to swing them. But he instructed Adjun to refrain from spying upon the work of the machetes.

Adjun, however, was overcome by curiosity and peeked at the activity of the machetes, whereupon they all broke. When Karumahibi saw that nothing had been done in the new garden, he made Adjun do the work himself. And he warned Adjun that his children after him would also suffer for his disobedience. From then on it would be hot, and people would sweat and develop calluses on their hands.

Karumahibi then gave axes to Adjun and again told him that the axes would do the work themselves as long as they were not spied upon. Adjun again looked, the axes broke, and Karumahibi ordered him to fell the trees himself. Adjun

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American standards, it is tame in comparison with the situation of a century ago when the Mundurucú were still in the heyday of their militarism. The lives of the native peoples are shorn of the elements of excitement and danger; pacification has no doubt been a relief to the weaker tribes, but to the Mundurucú it has been destructive. The tribe is now a society without important goals or a future, and its members know this well. Even more important in the progressive deterioration of the social fabric, though more insidious in its operation, has been trade and the activities that go into the acquisition of salable commodities. The effects of the relations of the Indians with the whites are obvious to the most casual inspection. When my wife, Yolanda, and I first walked into a Mundurucú village in 1952, we hardly expected to encounter a flamboyantly warlike people, for we knew well that the warring had ended some half-century ago. But we were psychologically unprepared for the dismal sight of Indians dressed in tattered cottons, for the cheap metal pots and pans, the rubber-tapping apparatus, and the little suitcases that sat in the rafters of every house and in which the people packed their clothes for journeys to their rubber trees or to trading posts. Little children with distended abdomens played in the dirt, hollow-ribbed dogs fought over scraps of fish entrails, and an occasional, and very unaboriginal, rooster crowed. The effect of the sun besting mercilessly on the mud huts in the village clearing, of the surrounding monotonous forest, of our inability to communicate with the people, and of our total incapacity to fend for ourselves in this strange environment, was a most depressing experience. This, I believe, is what some anthropologists refer to as "culture shock."

We settled in the village, acquired a Brazilian interpreter who spoke Portuguese and Mundurucú, and began to

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probe beneath the surface appearances. The Mundurucú were equally curious, and relentless to the exclusion of all personal privacy in their own ethnographic investigations on us. This is perhaps the worst part of field work, and it was more difficult for Yolanda than for me. The insect life forced her to dress in khakis, and only the canons of empiricism convinced the Mundurucú children—and many of the adults—that she was truly a female. The women shook her hammock before dawn to ask her if she was awake, and they made continuous and repetitive demands on her for bright glass beads. Her relations with the females were of a reciprocal nature; that she was another woman was more important than her role as a foreigner, and she was able to establish close rapport with them for field work. I, who did not hunt, fish, sow, or reap, could claim no such close identification with the men. Our research proceeded, and we found that there was still much that was distinctively Mundurucú below the veneer of material acquisitions. Beyond this, the grinding processes by which Mundurucú society had become transformed and is becoming transformed unfolded themselves through our observations of their continuing mode of existence. The headhunter's heritage, pale and secularized as it may be, was of consummate interest to us as social scientists. 123

This book, in essence, is the story of the relationship between the white man and the Mundurucú. It is a prosaic and simple tale, unadorned with episodes of valiant resistance and glory, and surprisingly lacking in oppression and suffering. But, perhaps for this reason, it contains an element of tragedy, because the processes of this history have worked inexorably upon Mundurucú society and culture for a century and a half and have brought a once proud people to the brink of social extinction. 121

The complex causes and processes of change in Mun- 177 182

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durucú society are the subject of this study. But fundamentally what has taken place is the attraction of a simple people by the new, glittering, and eminently useful objects proffered by Western civilization, and their ultimate reliance upon these items. These things, in themselves, have had limited effect on aspects of culture other than the material inventory. Rather, it has been the means of obtaining them and the social relationships in which they are exchanged that have altered the nature of Mundurucú society. These means have been the production first of manioc flour and later of wild rubber as cash commodities, and the establishment of a client relationship to white patrons in a mercantile economy.

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The experience of the Mundurucú is not unique. It has parallels throughout the world, especially in Amazonia. There, remnants of similarly fragmented tribes have merged into the racially mixed population, and others are on the threshold of assimilation. Incorporation into the neo-Brazilian, or *caboclo*, population of the Amazon valley is not as long a step for the Indian as the corresponding process in the United States. The term caboclo is used in Brazil to designate the lower-class backwoodsmen and peasants of the interior. In the Amazon it refers to the rubber collectors and farmers, whose racial composition is generally a cross of Indian and Caucasoid with a minor admixture of Negroid genes. No strictly defined racial demarcations prevent the transition of Indian to Brazilian. The barriers are social, linguistic, and cultural. That is, the Indian remains such as long as he identifies himself with a tribal society and plays social roles within it; and the extent to which he preserves the cultural and linguistic symbols of his own society makes possible life within it and inhibits communication beyond it.

Most Indian groups of Brazil are today transitional to

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incorporation in Brazilian society. They have acquired a limited but adequate body of common understandings with their Brazilian neighbors, and their social structures have become accommodated to their relations with the whites. Straddling two worlds, their positions are not stable, and they push themselves and are pulled from the outside into closer relations with Brazilian society. The "pull" arises from the chronic demand for cheap labor in the Amazon; the "push" is a product of the native's increasing desire for manufactured possessions, coupled with disturbances in his society which resulted from this acquisitiveness. The outcome of the process is the disappearance of traditional Indian social systems. But the affected Indians are not left in a social limbo. Rather, they shift their principal bonds of dependency to their already existent relations with the whites and move into the general orbit of caboclo society.

An understanding of the process by which native societies of the Amazon have become economically and socially dependent on the white man, and of the effects of this dependence, are central to an understanding of the transition from Indian to caboclo. Other aspects of the native culture are secondary in importance; the Indian, once incorporated, has ample opportunity to learn the white man's ways. Or, if he is disinclined or unsuccessful in this respect, his children, who have been reared outside the traditional social matrix, certainly will become linguistically and culturally as much, or more, Brazilian than Indian.

These remarks are also pertinent beyond the Amazon valley. The final chapter of this book will consider the general relevance of Munduruc̀u social and economic change to an understanding of the broader problems of culture change.

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try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú country are great stretches of savannah that continue into the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for unforested village locales could only have been acquired in their present home or further south. The previously mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although I can at present offer no further corroboration of this possibility.

Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional homeland as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, only about 360 of the 1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs, and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they

in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in physical characteristics. This is especially true of the younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from head to foot as their parents were.

The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising, as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú live in single-house isolation and not in villages

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THE CONTACT PERIOD

439 648 This account is hardly the complete story of the Munduruc ú's contact with Western society, and, since more than one hundred fifty years have passed, it cannot be taken literally. But it explains summarily how the Indians became engaged in the Amazonian barter economy and were induced to accept the whites. Trade with the white men had much to offer. Steel tools are so far superior to stone axes and bamboo knives that they have been sought after eagerly by almost all aborigines. The efficacy of firearms, also, was early and forcibly demonstrated to them by the whites. The traders had many other things that attracted the primitive population of the Amazon. Among them were trinkets and glass beads, the raw Brazilian rum, *cachaça*, clothes to protect them from insects and the cool nights of interior Brazil, and all the gewgaws and gadgets of the civilized world.

177 648 439 Once exposed to these mixed benefits of Western culture, it is as difficult for the aborigine to turn away as it is for the American; he is caught in the trap of his own newly induced needs. So strong is the Indian's desire for manufactured goods and so great is his dependence upon them that the Brazilian Indian Protection Serivce commonly [illegible] of Western commodities to establish communication with hostile tribes preliminary to their pacification. Traders in the Amazon region have classically used this technique to attract and hold native labor, which they have always desperately needed in their efforts to extract wild products. The Munduruc ú have not suffered from the worst excesses committed by the commercial interests, but other means, including torture and degeneration by rum, have been used to recruit them and other Indians throughout the Amazon Valley. The net effect has been to draw the native population into a client status under white patrons and to integrate it into the mercantile econ-

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omy of the region. Trade and the patron have thus been the principal instruments in effecting social and cultural change in this part of South America.

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

The Mundurucú were unknown in north Brazil, reported Martius, until 1770, when they began to launch strong attacks on the Portuguese settlements along the shores of the Amazon.[1] It was at this time, also, that they undertook an epic attack into the State of Maranhão, some 500 miles distant. A successful expedition was launched against them in 1795 in the upper Tapajós River region by the governor of Pará, after which they began to drift into the proximity of civilized settlements.[2]

The extent of Mundurucú territory in the eighteenth century is somewhat uncertain. Despite the possibility of a more southerly origin, the Indians themselves maintain that their home has always been in the savannahs to the east of the Tapajós, their scene of mythology is there, and that is where the expedition of 1795 found them. Their late appearance in Amazon history suggests that the Mundurucú occupation of sections of the lower Tapajós River and the country between the Tapajós and lower Madeira River did not much predate 1800 and was the result of the contact. Jesuit missionaries were active on the lower Tapajós River and west to the Madeira during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the Mundurucú are not among the tribes of that sector mentioned by João Bettendorf, the Jesuit chronicler.[3] A Brazilian traveler, Ricardo de Almeida Serra gives further support to this contention in his report on tribes living on or near the

[1] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[2] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4-5.
[3] Bettendorf, 1910.

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settlements traded to obtain Western goods. The process of assimilation proceeded with such rapidity that by 1817 Ayres de Casal was able to say, "Almost all the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies and some already Christians." [9] The Mundurucú occupants of the lower Tapajós were not, however, completely mission-dominated, as "a quite considerable distance above Vilanova de Santa Cruz on the west bank of the Tapajós, there is a village inhabited by another horde of Mundurucús, still pagans, and already having gardens, some already using trousers, and the women skirts, all of cotton." [10] There is no mention in the sources of the presence of the traditional village and men's house on the lower Tapajós. Apparently, the migrants did not transfer the native community organization to their new habitat.

The Madeira River area was likewise a region of post-contact penetration by the Mundurucú. This contradicts the information given to Lt. Herndon of the U. S. Navy by Alphonse de Lincourt, a French engineer of Santarém. According to the latter, the Mundurucú, after becoming friendly with the whites, moved out of the region between the Tapajós and the Madeira and retired to "the deep solitudes of the Tapajós above the cataracts." [11] It is much more probable that the Madeira region was an area of late eighteenth-century hostilities in which members of the marauding Mundurucú war parties had settled near the Brazilians and were later followed by other migrants.

Johann B. von Spix and Karl von Martius state that in 1819 the Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá River in the lower Madeira drainage had 1,000 Mundurucú under its control. [12] The Indians were settled at the mis-

[9] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 238.
[11] Herndon and Gibbon, 1854, p. 311.
[12] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.

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tentions of the Mundurucú had already shifted to the Arara Indians, with similar results. In addition to their activity in quelling hostile Indians, the Mundurucú also assisted the Portuguese authorities in the revolution of the Cabanas in 1835–1836. This aid consisted mainly of mop-up operations conducted against the rebels after the strength of the revolt was broken.

With friendly and mutually profitable relations established through coöperation in warfare and continued within the framework of a social and economic system relating Mundurucú and Brazilians through trade, the tribesmen who moved to the Madeira and lower Tapajós became progressively assimilated into Amazonian society. In the latter region, Mundurucú society was losing its boundaries and cohesiveness by the middle of the nineteenth century. Bates reported that in 1852 the Mundurucú living on the Cupari River, an affluent of the lower Tapajós, had recently abandoned village life and were scattered for six or seven miles along the river in twenty to thirty houses.[16] Most of these houses were of the Brazilian type or transitional to it. Few people were tattooed, all were clothed, and some spoke Portuguese in addition to their native Mundurucú. The Indians were under the control of Brazilian "captains of workers" on the lower Tapajós. Ostensibly, the duty of the latter was to supply crews for trading boats, but the Indians were also exploited by the captains for their own profit. Mundurucú society was becoming fragmented throughout the lower Tapajós region, for Bates reported the Santa Cruz mission to contain only thirty to forty families in 1852,[17] and by about 1880 it was a caboclo village. Similarly, Coudreau states that the population decline in the mission village of Uxituba, near modern Itaituba, was as follows: 1833, 485 Mundurucú; 1848, 343;

[16] Ibid., 1863, p. 240.
[17] Ibid., p. 225.

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of the Campinas [savannahs] are numerous."[8] Contact between the two regions has completely terminated since that time, and the modern Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós know of their brothers on the Madeira waters only by vague reports. I did not visit the latter region, but verbal accounts from Brazilians acquainted with the area indicate that the Madeira population is well assimilated.

The assimilation of these Mundurucú has been made complete by extensive intermarriage, usually of the common-law type, between Mundurucú and caboclos. These unions are almost always between Brazilian men and Indian women, because the rural Brazilians regard it degrading for a "civilized" woman to marry an Indian. Also, there has historically been a shortage of women in the Amazon, because the immigrant rubber tappers have generally been unmarried men. The children of such marriages are reared to be Brazilians and are no longer considered Indians despite their mixed ancestry. Genetically, the present neo-Brazilian, or caboclo, population of the Tapajós is partly Mundurucú. The mother of the mayor of the municipality of Itaituba was Mundurucú, and he is quite proud of this. He and the rest of the people of the Tapajós agree that the Mundurucú are "good people and hard workers."

THE LATER CONTACT PERIOD

The first half of the nineteenth century saw intensive contact between Brazilians and Mundurucú in the region adjacent to the Amazon, and in the second half of the century these Mundurucú merged progressively with caboclo society. But the bulk of the tribe had remained in their homeland on the upper Tapajós River and did not experi-

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 425.

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Tocantins states that many
175 462 648 [166] Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servitude by the whites,[84] a practice common to all of Amazonia at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mundurucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[85] All these scattered Mundurucú were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average population of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

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175 621 622 648 439 The population of the savannah villages decreased during this period because of death from disease and loss of people to the river banks. However, the villages themselves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became 900 a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[84] Ibid., p. 145.
[85] Coudreau, 1897, p. 108.

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Second, warfare, for both mercenary
pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced 175 182 648 721
scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because of the acquisition of firearms.[34] The continuance of warfare helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating [622] their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional villages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian society as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the end of the century was netting the traders fabulous monetary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber collecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

175 439 648 [177] 175 469 648 221

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional-type villages no longer existed on the waters of the Creporý River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

131 175

[34] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

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131 pajós,[37] although Chandless had stated that they inhabited
175 the headwaters of that river in 1850.[38] Thus, by 1895 at the latest, the territory of the savannah Mundurucú had diminished to its present confines between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, and the number of communities was no doubt correspondingly smaller. The rest of the region in which Mundurucú were scattered in rubber production was occupied jointly with the Brazilians. Those remaining
• [177] on the savannahs had already been exposed to civilization. They had acquired steel tools and cotton from the whites, and their warfare was more restricted; they had suffered losses in their material culture, and they had been exposed to Christianity. But the bulk of Mundurucú culture persisted.

175 By 1912–1914, depopulation, the demands of the rubber
182 economy, scarcity of nearby hostile Indian tribes, and
648 mission influence had combined to end warfare. This was
177 a severe blow to the native culture, for one of its central foci had now disappeared; the primary interest of the Mundurucú male had been valor, trophy-head and captive taking, and the great ceremonies centering on the heads. It is a loss still felt today by the older Mundurucú men, who now look skeptically at the future and nostalgically at the past.

175 It was in this period, also, that the rubber boom col-
459 lapsed, with the ultimate effect of giving a short extension
648 to the life of the native society. Rubber collection decreased in importance and yielded [illegible]
The produce and labor of the Indians were no longer so eagerly sought, and there was a decrease in numbers of Brazilian rubber tappers and traders in the area. But the Mundurucú had already become completely dependent

[37] Coudreau, 1897, p. 30.
[38] Chandless, 1862, p. 277.

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to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

Except for the village of Cauí, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro*, the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect [illegible] culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

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Whereas it is possible for only one to three men to hunt other species of animals, the entire male population of one or two villages is needed for profitably hunting wild pig. This animal always travels in large bands of at least twenty and up to one hundred. Under these circumstances a single hunter can kill only one or, at best, two pigs before stampeding the herd, but a large group of men can surround the animals and obtain a food supply sufficient for two or three days. Tapir, wild pig, and deer are also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal; if there are two or three hunters, the possibility of successfully dispatching the animal is thereby improved. 224

The increased use of firearms is highly significant in this regard. Even a ball from a muzzle-loading shotgun has greater range and velocity than an arrow. The lower power of the arrow is especially noticeable at longer distances, for its large surface area causes it to be considerably slowed by air friction. Besides, the bullet has greater stopping power. This is important, for wild pig and tapir frequently run for hours with two or three arrows in their bodies. In the village of Cabruá, the men owning firearms frequently hunted deer and tapir alone, while those using bows and arrows depended on their companions for added firepower and the opportunity to mount ambushes from which the animals could be shot at close range. Since firearms are still scarce in the savannah villages, collective hunting patterns remain relatively undisturbed, and the hunt may be considered a cohesive factor in village life. 177 224 411

FISHING

Fishing is secondary in importance to hunting in the subsistence economy of the savannah villages, but the Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the larger 226

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226 streams rely primarily upon fish for protein. The savannah villages are several hours inland from the nearest navi- [361] gable streams. This settlement pattern was well adapted to the defensive requirements of a warrior society, but it removed the communities from the best fishing sites. The narrow, shallow streams within easy reach of the villages yield only smaller species of fish and in limited quantities.

177 The Mundurucú relied little on the river system for 501 food or transportation in times past, as is shown by the fact that only in recent years has the dugout canoe been adopted on even a small scale. The modern Mundurucú canoe is usually of the double ended plank type made by the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber traders; before contact with the whites the only water craft used was the bark canoe. Not even this canoe, however, was native to the Mundurucú for they acknowledge having acquired it from their Tupían-speaking neighbors, the Apiacá. In early times, the bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when the Indians were on war expeditions. Small streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among the Mundurucú of the savannahs, despite their annual dry-season residence on large streams. Only two men in the village of Cabruá owned canoes and no one in Cabitutú had one.

226 An additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual [192] rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks, allowing the fish to disperse through the flooded forest where they feed on fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is difficult in the rain-forest region, even for people having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who have to fish with bow and arrow from the river banks, it is almost impossible. The modern residents of Cabruá say that their lack of canoes would make it necessary for them during

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the rainy season to fish by wading through the igapó, or flooded forest—impractical because of poisonous and constrictor water snakes, covered roots and logs, and the virtual assurance of failure. 226

These formidable obstacles restrict the savannah people to one or two trips per rainy season to streams where small fish are taken by drugging. The yield is unimportant in the total rainy season diet, and the expeditions do little more than satisfy a desire for variety in food. Fishing is quite important during the dry season, however, when the people move to their rubber-avenue homes on the banks of large streams. This, as has been mentioned, represents a continuation and intensification of a pattern [221] that predates the rubber trade; in those times, the villagers spent several weeks every dry season in temporary camps along the rivers, where they hunted and caught fish.

Dry-season fishing is done by two means. The first is to fish from the river bank with bow and arrow. To facilitate this technique, platforms are often built in the limbs of trees overhanging the water. The Munduruc\u00fa have great skill in fishing with the bow and arrow, and it is preferred to the hook and line, which was intro- [177] duced by the whites and is only used during the rainy season when the fish are scarcer and at a greater depth, and the turgid flood waters make the bow and arrow useless.

A second and equally important method is by poisoning the waters of lakes and medium sized streams with *timbó*, a generic term for a variety of fish poisons used throughout the Amazon. The timbó paralyzes the gills of the fish and suffocates it, but the fish remains edible as it does not become poisoned internally. Timbó is found in wild form in forest lianas, but the Munduruc\u00fa use

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tato (*Ipomoea batatas*), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, and pepper. At some time after the advent of the whites in the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, potato, and sugar cane were introduced. Cotton, although native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the Mundurucú until the nineteenth century. Similarly, although the potato is native in western South America it was not found aboriginally in the eastern part of the continent.

The agricultural land exploitable by each village is more than adequate, but not unlimited. Amazonian forest soil is generally of extremely poor quality. It is loose and friable and thus suitable to the simple digging sticks formerly used by the aborigines in planting, but it lacks the colloids essential to hold the minerals in the topsoil. The result is that the minerals are leached into the subsoil by the heavy annual rains. There is some variation in soil quality, however, even in this rather uniform environment. Much land is unusable in Mundurucú territory because it is periodically inundated or because it is sandy, grass-covered savannah. The tillable forest land is classified by the Mundurucú into the categories of black, red, and clay earth. The latter two are further subdivided if they contain a significant percentage of sand. Black earth is the best land and is usually the only kind in which they raise squash, melon, beans, and rice. These crops can be grown with uncertain prospects of success in red earth while maize can be raised in both. The tuber crops grow in all kinds of soil. Since black earth is not accessible to all villages, the list of Mundurucú crops is often drastically reduced in certain locations.

The land cannot be used for more than two plantings. On the second planting, in all types of soil, only bitter manioc is raised. Certain crops, such as pineapple, replant

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ECONOMIC LIFE

241 The burning and final clearing of the garden are done by the owner, usually aided by other members of his household. His wife and the other women of the house plant all the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc is done for each garden by all the people in the village, because this more extensive operation is well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dig the holes for the planting of the manioc cuttings while the women gather and cut the stalks and drop the sections into the holes.

The harvesting of bitter manioc and its later processing is woman's work and constitutes their most arduous and time-consuming chore. Bitter manioc contains prussic acid 252 and is inedible until the poisonous substance is extracted through a complex series of operations. The final product takes the form of the *beiju*, a flat cake which is the traditional "bread" of the Mundurucú and other Amazonian Indians, and is also made into two varieties of farinha (flour).

Beiju manufacture is a slow process, and the cakes are made today as delicacies only. The tubers are carried from [242] the gardens in borden baskets by the women and unloaded on the floor of an open-sided shed in the middle of the village. This shed serves as the communal farinha "factory" of the entire community. The women peel the manioc with steel knives, using quick chopping motions, and then grate them into a large wooden trough. The [242] grater formerly consisted of a number of thorny roots of the *pentecles* palm, lashed and placed side by side to form a sort of scrub board. Today, the tubers are grated against [277] the sides of five-gallon gasoline cans which have been cut out and punctured with a nail. The wet, grated mass is then placed in the *tipiti*, an ingenious basketry press native to South America, which operates on the principle of the Chinese finger squeezer. The tipiti is suspended at

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252 in cool streams. The tubers are then split open and the pulp is scooped out into baskets and brought back to the village. Much of the starch washes away during the soaking process, but the necessity of grating is eliminated. The pulpy mass is placed directly into the tipiti, squeezed, and then sifted and toasted.

DIVISION OF LABOR

962 The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an over-all picture of the structure of the Munduruců productive system.

In common with all tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor is by sex. There are no specialized [445] occupations among the women, and the only ones among the men—shamanism and chieftaincy—are hereditary, done without reimbursement and without relieving the individual from production. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Munduruců is especially deep. The men hunt, fish, and do only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also make baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women do all the other gardening work, process manioc, cook, tend children, fetch water and firewood, weave hammocks, and make [m] pottery. The two latter arts, especially pottery making, are now being displaced by manufactured articles.

962 Among persons of the same sex, and only occasionally 976 between the sexes, cooperation is the keynote of the Munduruců economy. Except for crafts, which are almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts are made in groups. This does not discount the individual pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trail-

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ing, and bow-and-arrow fishing, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture is done by numbers of men working in coördination.

House-building is also a collective task; men do the heavy work of construction while women and children aid in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since house-building is almost always done only when the entire village moves, every household helps the others in the task of construction. All houses of the new village rise uniformly instead of being completed one at a time, thus giving considerable efficiency in the collection and preparation of material.

Women, also, rarely work alone. Farinha is manufactured in a true division of tasks corresponding to the number of distinct steps in the process. Thus, one group of women is occupied in digging up the tubers and transporting them to the village; two or three more women grate the manioc; two others work the tipiti; another sieves the wet flour; and, finally, two women are busy toasting the product on the copper griddle. Chews are occasionally exchanged. Whatever the relative advantages or disadvantages in efficiency that may be obtained through cooperation, the sheer drudgery of farinha production is mitigated, for these are sociable gatherings. The females of one household form the minimal work unit, and all women of the village commonly join in. Cooperative manioc processing by all village women originated after contact with the whites, and informants say that as late as the latter part of the nineteenth century the women of single households constituted the basic work groups. Depopulation has contributed to this change, for in former times the household-extended family included as many women as there are in some modern villages. Also, before the introduction of the large, copper pans, beijú and farinha were toasted on ce-

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ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally considered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the women always seek company when they go to the stream to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone person is thought by the Munduruc ú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the economy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Munduruc ú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Munduruc ú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] *Cabocla* families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, there were about 2,000 *cruzeiros*, or about $80 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the *caboclo* is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

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459 487 577 648 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their excursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main business is with their own patron, they often make side trips to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the *rezas*, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and spend the days helping the patron or merely watching what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visiting Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go home.

171 648 Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent, and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for an occasional exchange among themselves; but they watch intently and with interest. They are well aware of the [123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they occasionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

191 648 Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly limited among the savannah dwellers. Most of the men speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a somewhat greater number. But their vocabulary is largely limited to simple and common words and phrases and to the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct communication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian takes place.

177 649 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual

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Mundurucú who work for the traders or live among the Brazilians. Some of these people maintain relations with the savannah dwellers and communicate to their residents knowledge of Brazilian culture. Other Mundurucú spent time among the Brazilians when young and later returned to the savannahs. They are few, but so are the remaining campineiros, and this is accordingly an important mode of influence. These sojourns among the whites take various forms. Some Indians are raised in the households of the traders, who claim that they do this only to "educate" and Christianize them. Actually the children perform household service without pay, but they are fed and treated well and are integrated into the household and family of the trader. They become well indoctrinated in Brazilian culture, as are other Mundurucú who have spent some years in the employ of the traders. Most such people do not return to the savannah villages, but the few who do go back for varying periods are significant in the introduction of Brazilian culture. But the structure within which this communication operates is set up by the patron-client relation —that is, cultural knowledge is transmitted through the agency of a social system that was established for the exchange of commodities.

COHESION AND DIVISION IN THE SAVANNAHS

This section summarizes the factors that promote the cohesion of the savannah villages and the opposing factors that disturb social norms and cause losses in community membership.

The Mundurucú feel that their way of life can only be conducted successfully in the traditional village locales of the savannahs. To leave these communities is to become almost a foreigner. Considerable sentiment is thus attached to life in the savannah villages and many people,

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of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the mission if one worked hard.

The villages grew by increments and with no special order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mundurucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river.

The circumstances of the migration induced other changes in village organization. Since the first permanent settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the old cooperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on large groups.

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done by the men, women, and children, working in common.

An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew out of these necessary changes. As other households were established in the growing villages, they too fell into the same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size, had become established as the basic unit in the production and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer had a very close blood tie with an established household and could thus be included in its economic arrangements, he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting of himself and his family.

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and reestablish what has been lost. This is evident among the Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the whetted appetite of the Cururú woman for finery and other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization is seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social change.

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun-

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in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú household shows that the people there own many more manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native manufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock making are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress. The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appreciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western culture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arithmetic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remarkable. And although Christianity is not actively rejected, the people are not deeply affected by the missionary teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and respected without any commitment or great interest on the part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

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the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in encouraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and therefore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives upstream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the Indians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

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men's house, and the newly formed Casa, is 60. On the other hand, the average Cururú River community, excluding the mission and Indian-post settlements, numbers less than 40 people. The Cururú settlements have few of the cohesive aspects of the savannah villages, but are afflicted with the cultural inheritance of many of their divisive tendencies. This can be illustrated by briefly presenting the community organization in one Cururú village.

Its eleven houses and 90 people make Missão Velha the largest village on the Cururú River. The village suffers from the same disadvantages that made it necessary to move the mission from the area. It is set back about a half mile north of the river bank because the river here is bordered by a stretch of savannah that is inundated annually. There is a clear stream about ten minutes walk to the east, but the annual flooding makes it inaccessible in the rainy season and water must be taken from the intervening flooded forest. To the north, behind the village, is a region of low savannah interspersed with stretches of forest. There is a limited amount of land suitable for horticulture, and, after seventeen years of occupation of the village, nearby land is already scarce. An additional disadvantage of Missão Velha is the presence of the usual quota of insects that infest the Cururú, which make the relatively insect-free savannah villages more agreeable.

Missão Velha, like most of the other riverine villages, grew up without planning of internal arrangement or location except for proximity to rubber avenues. All but one of its eleven houses have wattle-and-daub walls in the Brazilian fashion. The exception has walls made of vertical wooden laths, also a Brazilian mode of building. One house has the high, steep roof and rounded ends of the aboriginal dwelling, although its walls are of mud. The cook sheds adjoining the rear entrance or the side of each house are a distinctly Brazilian trait.

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tion in their short histories. The main reasons for their creation were the perpetuation of kinship ties and the desire for companionship and cooperation; all these bases of solidarity are now deteriorating. Finally, the Munduruc social system is incompatible with heavy preoccupation with the rubber industry. The nature of this trade and the ecological conditions of rubber exploitation tend to produce an atomized and scattered society. The economic and, to a lesser extent, social integration of such a trade-oriented economy is provided by the market. The Munduruc of the Cururú River are being drawn increasingly within the orbit of the Amazonian credit system. The traditional bases of integration are now gone, and social change can have no other direction.

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the elements of a society to its stability would miss the major problem area. Many social institutions and modes of action did little to maintain a smooth flow in the Munduruc ú system of social relationships, and some tended to disrupt and destroy the fabric of the society. The working hypothesis used by social anthropologists that social systems tend to establish a new equilibrium when disturbed has great methodological merit but is of limited utility in the present case, because Munduruc ú society is hurrying to its own demise.

If the social system has ceased to function smoothly, one might ask how this study can be called a functional analysis; and how Munduruc ú society can be said to be systematized if there are great incongruities between its parts. These questions may be answered by stressing that the Munduruc ú still maintain a social life, despite its manifold changes and internal strains. The presented data suggest that human societies are less bothered by inconsistencies than the social scientist, who abstracts and constructs his systems from a mass of observed behavior. Moreover, Munduruc ú society was at no time fraught with absolute contradictions, and there remain important accommodations and adjustments between some of the central activities that make up the totality of their social life.

A major source of change resided in the fact that continuing and patterned relations have been established with another society, that of Amazon Brazil. The adaptation of institutions and modes of behavior to the new system of relationships with the whites called for corresponding adjustments in Munduruc ú society itself. Beyond this, the Munduruc ú were brought into contact with a larger world through the medium of the market, and the Indians became sensitized to its demands. These demands of the market changed in type of commodity sought and in

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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177 182 amount, and the native social structure was directly affected.

121 182 That Mundurucú society was not isolated and was not stable, were advantages to a functional analysis rather than disturbing factors. Through observation of change in a component part of a system, it was possible to examine and determine with some degree of verifiability the ramifications and strength of relationship between the changing part and other parts. Functional links of interdependency did indeed exist, and change had repercussions through at least part of the system. As A. R. Radcliffe-Brown phrased it: "It is a corollary of the hypothesis of the systemic connection of features of social life that changes in some features are likely to produce changes in other features."[1] Thus, the functionalist method, when used in the dimension of history, has led to the study of social causality. It further illustrated that the direction of change was profoundly influenced by the structure of Mundurucú society; in this way the social system acted as a field of plural determinants, and social change derived therefrom its order and regularity.

182 61 At the time when the tribe erupted so violently into history the Mundurucú were patrilineal and patrilocal and appear to have been undergoing expansion in population and territory. Their social structure was well adapted to such growth, because the equivalence of kin and territorial unit permitted a segmentation process whereby small kin-local groups split off from larger ones. The offspring units, composed of residential nuclei of patrilineally related males and their wives, were miniatures of the parent groups, and they maintained a relation with the parent units through the over-all structure of lineage, subclan,

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 7.

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clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Munduruc society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Munduruc social structure. The Munduruc were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the cooperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully cooperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

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made the tribe useful to the whites. It was important to the Brazilians to maintain the friendship and virtual autonomy of the Munduruc\u00fa; the group was accordingly spared some of the severe contact traumata experienced by other Indian tribes of the rain forest.

The social system resulting from the first set of changes in Munduruc\u00fa social structure of which we have record persists (with some further modifications) in the present-day savannah villages. From one point of view, it might be said that these early alterations had one over-all function: they fulfilled the new social need of accommodation to Brazilian society. Peaceable relations were established through mercenary service and trade in manioc flour, and these were the means through which the Munduruc\u00fa acquired trade items. But the fact of a system of interrelations between Brazilians and Munduruc\u00fa meant that the social system of the latter had become vulnerable to changes in the former. Thus, when the direction of the Amazonian economy turned to rubber extraction, the Munduruc\u00fa were accordingly affected.

The rubber boom was roughly concurrent with the general pacification of the middle Amazon region. The Munduruc\u00fa were needed then as workers, and not as warriors. For the most part they turned to rubber tapping to get merchandise. The total lapse of military activity undercut some of the bases of Munduruc\u00fa social solidarity and exposed the institution of leadership to the strife inherent in the political organization. Witchcraft and the execution of sorcerers continued—there are no data to indicate either an increase or decrease of the practices—but in a new social setting. The formerly prevailing consensus in executing sorcerers, which was a reflection of social solidarity, is now difficult to obtain, and the custom today disrupts cohesion.

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THE CHANGING SOCIAL SYSTEM

177 182 649 439

The problems of leadership and sorcery are not the only causes of contemporary breaking up of traditional Munduruc society. Forces external to the society merit consideration. It was stated that the rubber industry caused no immediate ecological disruption, but this is true only as long as the Indian remains a marginal producer. His absorption into Amazonian economy and his obligations to the patron eventually increase to such an extent that the Indian cannot participate effectively in the native social system. His role as a member of a village and of an extended family becomes incompatible with the obligations of clientship because the latter demands a period of rubber production that overlaps the village horticultural cycle. When access to and dependence on trade goods grow, dependence on the individualized labor and personal holdings of the rubber avenue grow also. This, too, is incongruent with the cooperative labor and collective economy of the native social system. As the participation in the two social systems becomes increasingly incompatible, the fears and factionalism of village life cause the Munduruc to move more completely into the patron-client relationship. The dilemma of role conflict and group tensions is resolved by withdrawal from village life and by the restructuring of their interpersonal relations in the looser framework of Amazonian society.

The Munduruc are forced into their new mode of existence by several factors. Some of these are elements of the native heritage, such as the conflicting modes of residence and descent, chieftaincy, and sorcery. Others, as for example, trade relations and rubber production, originate from the outside. Social systems are not self-contained structures that respond only to their own needs; they are related to other social systems through networks of structured relationships. For this reason Munduruc society can

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be understood only with reference to the well-defined social roles of the enemy and the trader, to name the two most important. The relations of the Munduruků with their enemies were sudden and violent. Communication and, therefore, diffusion of the forms of culture were minimal due to the mode of interaction, but this by no means vitiates the importance of the hostile outer social world for an understanding of inner social processes.

The trader, on the other hand, is met under peaceful and mutually desired circumstances, and relations with him have different effects. In contrast to the enemy, he communicates knowledge of a different culture to the Munduruků; his role in this regard was formerly mediated through the chiefs with whom he dealt but is now more potent, for he has face-to-face relations with a much broader segment of the population. This, however, has not been the most important concomitant of the trader role. It is rather to the trader as the purchaser of commodities and the purveyor of goods that attention must be turned, for it is through these activities that Munduruků society has been most deeply changed and the populace become dependent upon outer sources for felt necessities. Economic autonomy, once lost, is rarely regained. As Munduruků wants grow, their bond to the trader tightens at the expense of similar ties to kinsmen and co-residents. When the economic life of the individual Indian is confined to the traditional relation of patronage-clientship, he is effectively a cubacho. The trader, like the enemy, is regarded by the Munduruků as given in the nature of things and beyond the control of the members of the society. Thus, while individual traders are often mistrusted and despised, the institutionalized obligations to the patron and the role itself are never questioned. But, in the final analysis, the patron is the surrogate of the Western economy, and his

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primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market to the Indians in a personalized and understandable idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study, for it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns that it offers are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of larger village and familial units. Murdock* is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most easily modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

The transformations of the Mundurucú social system can best be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That these factors have a broader relevance can be best

*Ibid., pp. 210–212.

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determined comparatively: cross-cultural studies of social and cultural change may well use the factors of ecological adaptation and types of relationship between social systems as constants. This is a different common denominator than the genetic one suggested by Fred Eggan as a means toward controlled comparison,* but it has been used by Steward and myself in a comparative analysis of the rubber-tapping Munduruc6 and the Indian trappers of Canada.† In the latter study, we attempted to demonstrate that the two populations experienced similar relationships with mercantilist, extraction economies, which entailed similar ecological adaptations. Both groups underwent disturbances of traditional patterns of postmarital residence; and both eventually underwent transitions in which the population became reorganized into loose aggregations in which larger bonds of economic dependency were transferred to patrons.

Finally the relevance of the present work for the study of "acculturation" must be considered, for I have given little attention to the borrowing of the symbolic forms of Western culture by the Munduruc6. The term "acculturation" has had a varied history and much ink has been spilled over its definition. It is generally defined as comprising those changes that take place as a consequence of culture contact. Its application in the past, however, has usually referred to the absorption of the content of European culture by a primitive group. Acculturation studies have been characterized by a concern with the phenomenon of diffusion, although on a large scale, and with the processes through which the content of other cultures is accepted and incorporated. Although such studies are interesting and valuable, I have not chosen acculturation as

* Eggan, 1954.
† Murphy and Steward, 1956.

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the central problem of this work. It might be asked whether the classical culture-historical emphasis of acculturation studies would have elucidated or confused some of the central issues of Munduruc social change. Could the development of matrilocality have been understood in these terms? Or could the fact that family organization among the Munduruc of the Cururú River is converging with that prevalent among the Brazilian population of the region be clarified by noting their intercourse with celibate German priests? It is true that the priests have encouraged the independence of the nuclear family, but how does this also explain a similar process of fragmentation among the Indians without close contact with the missionaries? Also, it cannot be denied that the adoption of Brazilian forms of dancing and tenure, of dresses and guitars, are significant because they constitute breaks in the symbolic barriers between the Munduruc and the whites and, in effect, bespeak alienation from the past. But were not these barriers already shattered and was not the major part of the population already alienated from their heritage by other factors?

The necessities of existence and the ways in which people and peoples interrelate should be the central problems for the student of culture change—as they are for the persons caught in the process. These, and not man's propensity to imitate, cause the fundamental alterations of a way of life. The question is perhaps too often phrased as "how *have* cultures changed" rather than "how *do* they change." The former leads to description, the latter to theory.

A recent report by a Social Science Research Council seminar on acculturation has expanded the outmoded definition of acculturation as simple transmission of culture between groups in contact to include almost anything that happens when "conjunctive" relations are established be-

Like all people, the Mundurucú are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the codage of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material acquisitions, and, although this was slowly changing, Dibel's tastes were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. In thus violated a value standard and at the same time offended the entire community by self-assertively and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows.

Dibel not only misunderstood the ends of Mundurucú prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one he most flagrantly violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be patient and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valiant behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Dibel's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he was only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wanted so badly.

Something though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Mundurucú social structure and contrary though his behavior was to the values that bound this adjustment, Dibel had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and alignments emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role constraints. Councillors and latent factions are part of the tribal life of the Mundurucú, but they are carefully repressed--a requisite for the functioning of Mundurucú society. The average Mundurucú is well-trained in disguising aggression and in presenting the bland face of neutrality, but Dibel's own socialization was in part derived from Brazilians and was not adjusted to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any outsider, he had come close to final aggrieved. His error was in openly objecting to the offense against him, a normal course for a Brazilian chefe but not for a Mundurucú chefe.

2

Dibel's alienation from Mundurucú society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through the role of chefe of the village of Cabitutú. The contemporary Mundurucú chefetship must be understood as a hereditary role. The ascendancy of the Indians to manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chefe. Thus the trader seeks increased production by wooing the chefe, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chefe acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he can do much to influence the choice of a chefe. But since he cannot completely weather the patrilineal rule of inheritance of

6.20 the chieftaincy. It is common practice to select one of the possible heirs and groom him in his household; this is what happened to Sibel. This is agreeable to the chief, for he gains the favor of the trader and, with it, preferential treatment in sales and purchases. It is clearly beneficial to the trader, as he hopes thereby to install a chief who will be responsive to his wishes, even at the expense of the Mundurucu villagers.

The contemporary Mundurucú chief is in a dilemma. If we look upon a boundary role as one in which both ends have to be played against the middle, we see the chief caught between the interests of the trader and those of his followers; these interests rarely coincide. It is a difficult position, but one that can be maintained by mutual adherence to the traditional behavior expected of chiefs and minimal acquiescence to the demands of the traders. Sibel's father, Caetano, played a comparatively successful role. If the trader told him that the villagers were heavily in debt to him, Caetano would communicate this fact and suggest that it would be well to collect more rubbers; he never attempted even verbal coercion. He also sincerely sought to obtain the maximum return for his people.

6.22 Caetano exhibited many characteristics of the traditional chief. An older man, he carried himself with a modest and unassuming dignity. He guided, persuaded and rejoiced, but he carefully refrained from ordering people, and all decisions of communal significance were made in consultation with the mature men of the village. Beyond this, Caetano knew Mundurucú traditional knowledge and lore and attempted to perpetuate it.

6.22 Sibel's position was very different from that of his father, for he was the prototype of the Indian boy who had been "educated" by a trader and later installed as a chief. He had no legitimate claim to the position, and it was necessary for the trader to insist that he would recognize only Sibel in dealings with Caetano. The residents grudgingly assented, but they regarded him as chief only in trade relations. The most influential man of the village was, in reality, a renowned shaman who was the son of the last chief and was considered the legitimate heir to the office.

6.22 Sibel's precarious situation was made worse by the fact that he was under thirty years old and the junior of many men in the village. To complicate matters, he had no supporting group of kinsmen in Cabitutu. Patrilocality, I have said, is the normal mode of residence among the Mundurucú, but the sons of chiefs generally remain with their fathers after marriage. From the point of view of donative extinction, the sons of chiefs remain patrilocal because their fathers are influential enough to persuade men to relinquish their daughters to them as a means of solidifying relations with them. By the same line of reasoning, a young man who marries the daughter of a chief is willing to join a prestigeful father-in-law. But from the point of view of social structure, the function of the patrilocality of the chief's family is twofold. By keeping the sons, the chief is able to transmit authority to them without the discontinuity that would result if they were resident in the villages of their wives. Moreover, the chief is surrounded by a group of patrilineally related kin, a small and solidary patrilineage. His position is further enhanced by the fact that he has sons-in-law within the village. Such an idea may reinforce his prestige, it does not enable him to exercise collateral authority, for the rest of the

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*241 or if other relatives have come to live in the house, then the plot is
[104] made larger. The calculation is thus basically intuitive, even though it is based on practical experience gathered through generations.

*241 Nowadays, the Indian usually plants a little more than he needs
• 197 for his own use, to obtain a surplus (along with the surplus of rubber
[43] he has gathered) and improve his lot by using it in the purchase of clothes, oars, machetes, etc. The garden, therefore, helps him to maintain his economic balance at his present stage of acculturation.

[245] Another factor which also depends in part on the terrain is the shape of the plot. Here, however, other elements are already in evidence, especially the influence of neo-Brazilian acculturation. Whenever possible, the Munduruků prefer the traditional shape, which is rounded or elliptic-oval. Thus did the ancestors make their plots, and thus they are made to this day in the villages of the interior. Still in 1957, this garden shape could easily be distinguished when flying over the villages of the Kabitutu and Paranaíta. But this is no longer an iron rule. "It depends on the terrain," they told me. But I believe that the influence of the peasants is stronger than that of the terrain. Thus we find gardens of various shapes, elongated, rectangular, and even square. The latter predominate especially in
[361] the Cururú and Tapajós region, and thus in areas where the Munduruků
[112] no longer live in village communities but in isolated dwellings. The dismembering of the community and the emancipation of the Munduruků family from the village system are reflected here as they are in many other aspects of the culture.

*241 2. Clearing—ryut tasabm. To clear is to cut down the undergrowth with the machete, removing from the site of the future garden shrubs, young trees, and brush. This is done to prepare for the next task, which is the felling of the trees. In this way, the woodcutters have greater freedom of action. After the trees are felled, it would be impossible to clear the ground of undergrowth. As a rule, the clearing is done in three days' work, and some time is allowed to elapse for the brushwood to dry.

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*341 462 [312] The man digs or opens a hole in the ground (likudn). He does this with a "digging stick," which consists of a strong rod, about 2 meters long, pointed at the lower end. The man pushes this rod hard into the ground, at an angle of 30 to 45 degrees, and then straightens it to a vertical position. This opens a small pit into which the woman who accompanies him puts two or at most three shoots of bitter manioc (8) (masok taisabm or masok ip maum). Removing the tip

[31] [244]

8. Maniva /bitter manioc/ is the name of the plant and the generic name of this vegetable (Manihot utilissima), while the roots, in the form of large tubercles, are called "mandioca." The bitter-manioc stalks, after the harvest, are saved for the next planting, when they are cut into pieces of 20 centimeters at most. These pieces, or "manioc shoots," are planted in the manner indicated above, for manioc does not propagate itself through seeds.

of the stick from the pit, she steps on /the pit/ to close it up and to pack the soil, but in such a way that the upper ends of the manioc shoots stick out in order to grow branches and leaves. Under the influence of civilization, nowadays the Munduruku already using spades and even iron digging tools. The distance between the manioc pits is approximately 1 meter on the average.

*[77]

*341 There is no doubt that the Munduruku carry out their horticultural work within a certain system, not only as regards the steps involved in clearing the plot but also in the planting itself. There is a sequence to the planting steps. In the time that elapses between the final burning and the planting, as a rule they sow watermelon, which thrives amazingly in the recently burned ground. Only then

/15 cont./

*241 Also:

192 pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties
262 banana—aku, 11 varieties
cotton—buru, two varieties
urucú—tyuku, tyuku a
papaya—assu a, two varieties

*241 There is, therefore, a small group of plants which are found in the gardens as well as out: pepper, bananas, cotton, urucú, and papayas.

[249] For certain plant species, such as for example tobacco and the curauá pineapple, a plot of ground is often set aside, or a small garden is prepared separately.

249 Aside from these plants, which are useful to subsistence, the Mundurukú also have a certain number of vegetables which back-
[302] woodsmen call "smell" and which they use when they are bathing, to give their body, and especially their hair, a more pleasant odor.
[157] A few herbs are also cultivated for medicinal purposes. Others yet
[189] are used in the practice of certain superstitions and charms. Although I am aware that these subjects are not directly related to agriculture, I mention them in passing since "cultivated plants" are involved.

*241 From this list, it becomes clear that the Mundurukú must have
●177 had considerable contact with civilization and with other tribes to have acquired such a number of useful plants. As for the ancient stock of plants cultivated by the Indians in the Amazon forest, tubercles must be mentioned first and foremost. Moreover, /16/ it seems that the use of some of these typically native plants, such as for example curauá pineapple or sweet manioc, is not very old, for a series of tribes possessing a type of agriculture quite similar to that of the Mundurukú are not yet familiar with the cultivation of sweet manioc or curauá pineapple. (9)

[171] 9. Thus, for instance, the majority of the Carib tribes of the Brazilian Guianas are unfamiliar with the cultivation

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[171]

of sweet manioc, even though, in many respects, their agricultural system is quite similar to that of the Mundurukú.

The first great influence of civilization unquestionably occurred during the nineteenth century, following the pacification of the [361] Mundurukú, when they settled on the margins of the Tapajós. Through this contact, nearly all the plants cultivated on the lower Amazon became known to the Mundurukú and were, for the most part, adopted [797] by them. The old mission of Bacabal must also have had some influence on this development. The new agricultural acquistions, as well as their handling and usage, spread rapidly along the Tapajós, but very slowly toward the interior and especially toward the grasslands of Mundurucânia. The knowledge and use of manioc flour exemplifies this process. In the old days, the Mundurukú were not familiar with manioc flour and made only tapioca cakes. Nowadays, even in the villages of the interior, they all make flour. But, as I said, manioc flour is a relatively recent acquisition. My informant Tomé told me the following: "My grandmother told me, one day, that in her childhood, in the villages (of the interior), they did not [252] know yet how to make flour. They only made tapioca cakes, which sometimes they even roasted on stone (slabs)...." This was at the most 80 years ago. The Mundurukú of the Tapajós, on the other hand, being far more exposed to contact with civilization than the Mundurukú of the central grasslands, were already quite familiar with manioc flour in those days and even prepared it for commercial pur- [439] poses. Martius, Bates, and others, as we already indicated at the beginning of this work, speak of the important flour production and of the flour trading which the Mundurukú of the Tapajós carried on with the traders of Santarém and of the lower Amazon. It seems obvious, therefore, that the spread of agricultural elements into the Tapajós region occurred /17/ at a rather uneven rate, and that in the case cited, in the villages of the interior, the making of manioc flour was acquired much later than in the villages of the Tapajós River. If this happened in connection with the more usage of a plant

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241 which they were already cultivating. The introduction of new plants
177 /must have been/ all the more /uneven/. Here, the process may have been even slower.

242 Of even more recent acquisition, especially through the influence
139 of the Franciscan mission founded in 1911 on the Cururu River, are
177 products such as rice, beans, and various other plants which are
799 cultivated chiefly by the religious sisters, but which have been adopted by the Indians on a very modest scale. During the last decades, the following fruit trees have reached them: the mango tree, the orange tree, the lemon tree, the coffee shrub, and a certain type of cacao tree. They were already familiar with other products such as maize, pumpkins, etc., but cultivated them on a very small scale.

241 8. Weeding or cleaning. We have described the planting. A few facts remain to be given concerning the garden tasks after planting. It is obvious that, once the planting itself has been done, the plot still requires a certain amount of care. Not right away, but after several weeks or months. /sic/ This is the weeding. Between the planting and the harvest, two weedings of the garden are usually carried out, the entire plot being cleaned. They speak of the first and second cleaning, or of the first and second weeding. This is done almost exclusively with the machete. There is no specific time set aside for this, because it depends to a large extent on the weather (rains) and on the need. The first weeding is called tip ogn, the second karit ogn.

244 9. The harvest. The Indians generally use the regional term, "tearing up the plot," or "pulling up the bitter-manioc roots"—
[412] manok ta ogn. Within a year, the garden has matured and may be torn up. The manioc roots are pulled up by hand. The entire plot is not harvested at one time, but according to need. In order to pull up the manioc roots, a certain amount of strength and ability is required. Often, when the tubercles hold firm to overly hard ground, the Indian digs with the machete around the roots in order to loosen the soil and pull out the manioc root /18/ with greater ease. This same technique of using the machete as an auxiliary tool in the extraction of manioc roots is also used in gathering other tubercles, such as yams, sweet potatoes, etc.

/21 cont./

241 192 462 time of planting onward. In terms of their basic meaning, these two words could be translated as follows: kat as "clearing" and ko as "planting." It thus becomes clearer why the woman would never say, for instance, that she is going to the kat, to the clearing, because it is not she who does this, but /would say/ that she is going to the ko, the planting, because it is she, in fact, who does the planting. The opposite applies to the man. If, however, there is need for the use of a general, impersonal term, the man will also use the word ko, but with the respective modifier of its being "hers" or "the woman's," so that no misunderstanding may arise.

2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance

241 621 It is plain that this complex of agricultural matters is reflected in the family life of the Indians, not only for the Munduruků who still live communally in the old village system, but also for those [178] [591] who have broken away from this way of life and set up a separate nucleus with their family, living an isolated life with their own house and garden. Indeed, nowadays, it is necessary to make a distinction:

[162] 1. Between the Munduruků Indians of the interior, numbering 250, a minority of approximately one-fifth of the total of 1,200, who still live according to the traditional system of tribal communities or villages;

[177] 2. Between the Munduruků who are already more or less acculturated /and live/ on the Tapajós, Cururú, Tropas, etc. rivers.

241 476 621 /22/ Within the first group, in the interior, we find more or less the primitive or traditional form of the Munduruků agricultural system: a system of collective labor based on mutual assistance. Murphy indicates the present conditions in the villages of the interior when he says: "Every adult /Munduruků/ of the plain of the male sex has his own plot which is cleared by the collective effort of all the men in the village and which is planted with manioc roots with the cooperation of the entire village." (11) This cooperative labor

11. Murphy, 1954: 28.

/25 cont./

241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the manure garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Munduruku family regarding the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

[574] [423]

177 [20] How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Munduruku? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Munduruku have given up the system of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus too each man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lost their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

[342] [423] [474]

241 179 182 462 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Munduruku the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, non-Brazilian environment.

241 603 471 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)